

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-03

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1933

AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 06405

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

TUNIS FOR AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, GW, NATO

SUBJECT: EC FOREIGN MINISTERS WEEKEND DISCUSSIONS AT  
SCHLOSS GYMNIICH--APRIL 20-21

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REF: BONN 6284

BEGIN SUMMARY: FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL BRIEFED THE CHARGE APRIL 22 ON THE RESULTS OF THE WEEKEND MEETING AT GYMNICH OF THE 8 EC FOREIGN MINISTERS-- BELGIUM WAS NOT REPRESENTED. VAN WELL SAID WEEKEND MEETINGS INVOLVED USEFUL PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS OF MINISTERS, WITHOUT ANY AIDES, BUT NO DECISIONS OR OPERATIONAL CONSEQUENCES. THE MAIN TOPICS WERE EUROPEAN UNION (WHICH CALLAGHAN ACCEPTED AS EC OBJECTIVE FOR 1980), U.S./EUROPEAN DECLARATIONS (WITH PRIORITY NOW ATTACHED TO SIGNING EITHER BEEFED UP COMMUNIQUE OR ATLANTIC DECLARATION AT JUNE OTTAWA NATO MINISTERIAL), AND U.S./EC CONSULTATIONS (WITH INCREASED FRENCH FLEXIBILITY VIS-A-VIS PRAGMATIC FRG PROPOSALS). MINISTERS ALSO DISCUSSED SPECIAL FUND FOR POOREST NATIONS AFFECTED BY OIL CRISIS, AND, THE MIDEAST (SEPTEL). VAN WELL ALSO COMMENTED ON CANADIAN DEMARCHE TO EC-9. END SUMMARY

1. GENERAL. VAN WELL SAID THE GYMNICH WEEKEND WAS LIMITED TO STRICTLY PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS OF THE 8 FOREIGN MINISTERS AND ORTOLI; THE BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER WAS NOT PRESENT AND NO AIDES PARTICIPATED IN THE DISCUSSIONS. VAN WELL SAID HE BELIEVED THE MEETINGS WERE SUCCESSFUL IN PRODUCING A GOOD EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BUT THAT THERE WERE NEITHER DECISIONS NOR OPERATIONAL CONSEQUENCES FROM THE GYMNICH MEETINGS.

2. EUROPEAN UNION. VAN WELL SAID ALL DAY SATURDAY AND PART OF SUNDAY WERE DEVOTED TO A CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSION OF LONG-TERM GOALS IMPLIED BY THE 1980 OBJECTIVE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION. CALLAGHAN SAID HE WAS NOT OPPOSED PER SE TO THE CONCEPT OF CREATING A EUROPEAN UNION, BUT DID NOT KNOW WHAT IT MEANT. HE ASKED HIS COLLEAGUES TO DEFINE, IN PRACTICE TERMS, THE MEANING OF EUROPEAN UNION AND POSED A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ON THE TOPIC. ACCORDING TO VAN WELL, CALLAGHAN'S QUESTIONS REVEALED THAT NO ONE REALLY KNOWS EXACTLY WHAT THE TERM MEANS. SCHEEL RECALLED THAT HE HAD BEEN PRESENT AT THE OCT 1972 PARIS SUMMIT IN WHICH POMPIDOU HAD CREATED THE TERM. SCHEEL ADMITTED THAT "EVEN THE FATHERS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PHRASE DO NOT KNOW EXACTLY WHAT IT MEANS." IN REPLY, CALLAGHAN ASKED HIS COLLEAGUES TO EXPLAIN THEIR PURPOSES AND TO CONVINCE HIM AND HE WOULD TRY TO "CONVINCE THE OTHERS"--I.E., OTHERS IN THE BRITISH CABINET.

3. VAN WELL SAID THE OTHER 7 MINISTERS AFFIRMED THAT THE NATIONAL STATES AND BORDERS WOULD BE RETAINED IN THE FUTURE, BUT THAT ABOVE THE NATIONAL LEVEL, THERE WOULD

BE A "FEDERAL OR CONFEDERAL LEVEL ENTAILING BOTH INTEGRATION AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION." A EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT WOULD BE CREATED WITH ITS OWN INDEPENDENT POWERS AND WITH A PARLIAMENT COMPOSED OF A HOUSE OF STATES AND HOUSE OF THE PEOPLES. (COMMENT: ALL OF THIS CLEARLY REFLECTS VIEWS OF JOBERT REPORTED RECENTLY BY EMBASSY PARIS. END COMMENT). EC COMMISSION PRESIDENT ORTOLI EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT SUCH A CONCEPT WOULD MEAN THAT EXISTING INSTITUTIONS WOULD BE SUBSUMED, IN THE PROCESS, INTO BROADER INSTITUTIONS. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT BY TRANSCENDING THE EC COMMISSION THE RELATIVE DEGREE OF INTEGRATION VIS-A-VIS INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION WOULD BE WEAKENED.

4. VAN WELL SAID ALL 7 MINISTERS STRONGLY DEFINED "THEIR

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KNOWN CONCEPTS" REGARDING EUROPEAN UNION. CALLAGHAN SAID INITIAL SKEPTICAL BRITISH REACTIONS TO THE IDEA OF "UNION" FLOWED PARTIALLY FROM SEMANTICAL CONFUSION OWING TO BRITISH ASSOCIATION OF THE WORD "UNION" WITH EARLIER BRITISH HISTORY--I.E., THE ACT OF UNION, THE UNION JACK, THE CROWN, ETC.  
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5. IN THE END, ACCORDING TO VAN WELL, ALL 8 MINISTERS INCLUDING RPT INCLUDING CALLAGHAN AGREED TO MAINTAIN THE OBJECTIVE OF THE CREATION OF EUROPEAN UNION BY 1980. THE WORK IN BRUSSELS ON THE EUROPEAN UNION REPORT, WHICH HAD BEEN INTERRUPTED, WOULD RESUME.

6. U.S./EUROPEAN DECLARATIONS. THE MINISTERS ALSO AGREED THAT WORK SHOULD CONTINUE ON BOTH THE U.S./EC AND ATLANTIC DECLARATIONS. VAN WELL SAID WORK ON THE EC DECLARATION HAD STOPPED SINCE LUXEMBOURG IN VIEW OF THE PREVIOUSLY NEGATIVE BRITISH ATTITUDE TOWARD EUROPEAN UNION.

7. VAN WELL SAID CALLAGHAN HAD FLOATED IDEA OF SIGNING A BEEFED UP NATO COMMUNIQUE AT THE JUNE OTTAWA MINISTERIAL. THERE ALSO WAS DISCUSSION, ALONG THE LINES OF THE RECENT HARTMAN-VON STADEN EXCHANGE, THAT AN ATLANTIC DECLARATION MIGHT BE SIGNED AT THE OTTAWA MINISTERIAL. ONLY ONE OF THE 8 EC MINISTERS ENTERED A FORMAL RESERVATION ON THIS SCORE, SAYING THAT BOTH DECLARATIONS SHOULD BE SIGNED AT THE SAME TIME RATHER THAN PROCEEDING FIRST WITH THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION. VAN WELL SAID THIS ONE COUNTRY WAS NOT BRITAIN, FRANCE OR GERMANY; (AS BELGIUM WAS NOT PRESENT, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE OBJECTOR WAS EITHER HOLLAND OR ITALY). VAN WELL THOUGHT IT WOULD BE NO REAL PROBLEM TO GAIN EC APPROVAL FOR AN ENHANCED NATO COMMUNIQUE OR, ALL THE BETTER IF POSSIBLE, THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION AT THE OTTAWA MINISTERIAL.

8. U.S./EC CONSULTATIONS. VAN WELL REFERRED TO THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF THIS TOPIC AT APRIL 18 POLITICAL COMMITTEE DINNER (REFTEL - PARA 2). HE SAID THE MINISTERS ALSO REFLECTED TREND OF THOUGHT THAT CONSULTATIONS SHOULD NOT BE APPROACHED IN AN UNDULY FORMAL WAY WITH AN INFLEXIBLE GENERAL FORMULA. RATHER, THERE SHOULD BE A CLEAR BUT NOT NECESSARILY WRITTEN CONTRACTUAL UNDERSTANDING. THE CONSULTATION ISSUE SHOULD BE TREATED PRAGMATICALLY, ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS, BUT THE STANDARDS FOR CONSULTATIONS BY THE PRESIDENCY SHOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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WELL UNDERSTOOD. VAN WELL SAID SCHEEL EMPHASIZED THAT THE EC UNDERSTANDING ON CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR SO THAT MINISTERS COULD REPORT THEIR POSITIONS TO THEIR PUBLICS AND PARLIAMENTS.

9. AS A RESULT OF THE PC AND MINISTERIAL DISCUSSIONS LAST WEEK, VAN WELL SAID IT WAS NOW ACCEPTED THAT ANY MEMBER STATE COULD POSE THE QUESTION OF INFORMATION AND CONSULTATIONS AT ANY TIME AND COULD DEMAND A THOROUGH DISCUSSION AND DECISION OF THE NINE. JOBERT DID NOT REPEAT HIS ARGUMENT (AT LUXEMBOURG) THAT THE CONSULTATION QUESTION ONLY BE UNDERTAKEN AFTER A FORMAL AND FINAL DECISION BY THE MINISTERS. IN FACT, VAN WELL NOTED THAT THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD AGREED AT THEIR APRIL 18-19 MEETING THAT THE PRESIDENCY COULD DISCUSS THE PROPOSED SEPARATE CSCE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION WITH THE U.S. DESPITE THE FACT THAT NO FORMAL AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED BY THE NINE. JOBERT TOLD VAN WELL PRIVATELY THAT THE PC DISCUSSION OF CONSULTATIONS HAD BEEN A GOOD ONE AND THAT THE DECISION TO DISCUSS THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION WITH THE U.S. HAD BEEN A GOOD EXAMPLE OF PRAGMATIC PRACTICE. ARNAUD HAD EMPHASIZED TO VAN WELL THE NEED TO AVOID CONFRONTATION AMONG THE NINE SUCH AS OCCURRED AT LUXEMBOURG. AFTE THE GYMNIICH MEETING, SOME POL DIRECTORS HAD COMMENTED TO VAN WELL THAT THE GERMAN PROPOSAL FOR CONSULTATIONS SEEMS, IN FACT, TO HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED EVEN THOUGHT ITS PARENTAGE HAD NOT BEEN ACKNOWLEDGED.

10. SPECIAL FUND. VAN WELL SAID THERE HAD BEEN DISCUSSION AT THE PC MEETING OF AN EC CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROPOSED SPECIAL FUND FOR THE POOREST NATIONS MOST AFFECTED BY THE OIL CRISIS. THE DANISH POL DIRECTOR HAD ENTERED A RESERVATION TO SUCH A CONTRIBUTION AT THE PC MEETING BUT FONMIN GULDBERG HAD NOT REPEA  
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COUNCIL MEETING AND THAT, THEREAFTER, THE EC COULD OFFER  
TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THE FUND.

11. CANADA. IN CLOSING, VAN WELL CONFIRMED THAT THE  
CANADIAN AMBASSADOR IN BONN MADE A DEMARCHE APRIL 20  
WITH FONMIN SCHEEL CONCERNING CANADIAN/EC RELATIONS

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(REFTEL- PARA 1). TTHE CANADIANS WILL INFORM THE  
DEPARTMENT (AS WELL AS JAPAN) OF THEIR DEMARCHE TO THE  
EC ON APRIL 23. THE DEMARCHE HAS ALSO BEEN MADE WITH  
EC COMMISSIONER SOAMES AND A HIGH LEVEL CANADIAN TRADE

DELEGATION IS PRESENTLY ENGAGED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE COMMISSION IN BRUSSELS. THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR STRESSED TO SCHEEL THAT OTTAWA'S DEMARCHE IS NOT RELATED PARTICULARLY TO THE U.S./EUROPEAN DECLARATIONS; HE CLAIMED THAT CANADIAN CONTACTS WITH THE COMMISSION HAD ANTEDATED THE SECRETARY'S APRIL 23 SPEECH. CANADIAN AMBASSADOR EMPHASIZED STRONGLY THAT PRESENT DEMARCHE WAS A RESPONSE TO EC INQUIRY LAST DECEMBER CONCERNING OTTAWA'S WISHES. SCHEEL THANKED THE CANADIANS FOR THEIR INTEREST IN THE DIALOGUE WITH THE EC, SAID THE DEMARCHE WOULD BE STUDIED CAREFULLY AND TAKEN UP AT THE NEXT EC MINISTERIAL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS.

12. FURTHER EC MEETING DATES. FONOFF POL INTEGRATION DEPT CHIEF TELLS US THAT IT NOW SEEMS QUITE UNLIKELY THAT THERE WILL BE AN EC SUMMIT DURING THE GERMAN PRESIDENCY. THE NEXT MINISTERIAL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS AT BONN ARE TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR EITHER MAY 27-28 OR JUNE 10-11. THE NEXT POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING WOULD BE SCHEDULED, DEPENDING ON DATES FOR THE MINISTERIAL, ON EITHER MAY 21-22 OR MAY 27-28.

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## Message Attributes

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